Linguistic Separations

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XV. No. 19 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1951 TWO ANNAS

SHRI VINOBA AT SHIVARAMPALLI

IV

IMPERIALISTIC TRENDS

[Summary of Vinoba's speech at Shivarampalli on the 11th April 1951, the fourth day of the Sarvodaya Conference.]

Shri Vinoba said that the experience of community-life they had for the last four days at the Conference was an exchange of mutual love. It was a unique benefit in life. The seven hundred or so workers from all over India who participated in the Conference had expected no material benefit from the meeting there. In an age held to be mad after power the presence of such a large number of men who did not care for power, was no common phenomenon.

Within the three minutes allotted to each speaker, each had spoken on a problem on which he himself had worked. The speeches were not discursive, but related experiences and problems arising out of them. Vinoba said that he had heard almost all the speeches with close attention and had received much material for reflection.

A unique feature of the Conference was, Vinoba said, that they discussed a problem, and left it there, without passing any resolution thereon. This was quite unlike other gatherings of this nature. Some might feel that there was no meaning in the discussions if they did not lead to any decisions. In the course of elucidating his reply to it, Shri Vinoba related an anecdote of Alexander the Great, who had a historical museum, which he showed to his guests. The museum had statues of several great men with their names inscribed on them. It did not, however, contain an effigy of Alexander himself. If a guest asked Alexander the reason for the omission, he used to say that if his statue were to be placed there, the visitor might look for the name of the person whom the statue was supposed to represent and upon reading the title might ask him the perplexing question who that Alexander was. Hence, it was better that people asked why his statue was not there than they should see the statue and wonder who it was! Similarly it was better, Vinoba said, to leave the discussions as they were without passing resolutions and straightway begin to work according to one's understanding in the light of the discussions than pass resolutions and then not implement them. The new practice adopted left no room for dissatisfaction to any one. Every one felt free to take what light he could.

Talks with Provincial Workers

Referring to the several meetings with workers of various provinces, he expressed his satisfaction and said that they gave him an opportunity to focus his attention on the special problems of individual provinces and suggest solutions and talk on subjects unreservedly. He expressed hope that the workers on their return from the Conference would try to put his suggestions into practice. The particular benefit of such group meetings of provincial workers was, Vinoba continued, that he came nearer to each group. Emphasizing the importance of direct contact, Vinoba said, "The Name is better than the Form. Love is better than the Name. But so long as the body lasts and particularly when we desire to serve India in some special manner and transform not only India but the entire world, the necessity of direct contact remains. Hence this step. I have been much benefitted by it."

Next Programme

Revealing his next programme, Vinoba said, "God willing, I shall tour the Communist-infected area for about a month or two and I request the Government to help me in this task. I want the Government to allow Communists to meet me unhindered and without fear. If Government did this much, I hope that my tour would benefit not only me but the whole country."

Five-fold Programme

Vinoba then recapitulated his first day's speech regarding the five-fold programme. Shri Vinoba said that he had formulated a small metrical line for it. अन्तःशुद्धिः, बहिःशुद्धिः, श्रमः, शान्तिः, समर्पणम् । (Internal purity, external cleanliness, labour, peace and dedication). Internal purity stood for purity of heart, that is, the honest-life movement (व्यवहारशुद्धि). Some had said that this programme was too rigid and should be liberalized. Others had said that it was not radical enough and touched only the surface without affecting the root of the problem. When a programme was attacked from two opposite sides, Shri Vinoba said, it was an indication that it was correctly conceived according to the rule of the golden mean, and was sufficient for the time being.

External cleanliness stood for public cleaning which should be done in every village.

The third was physical labour. This meant not only the doing of physical labour but respect for it, that is, dignity of labour. People did, no doubt, labour out of helplessness but they had no respect for it. This item meant the enhancement of the dignity of labour.

The fourth was Peace. By Peace he meant Peace Brigades. He advised each of the workers to treat himself both as a soldier as well as a General of Peace. If they worked with this spirit, they could organize Peace Brigades at every place. And they had to surrender everything including the sense of ego to the cause of Peace. As a token of it, each one should give a hank of yarn.

Freedom and Imperialism

Throughout human history one noticed the rise and fall of nations following the same pattern. A nation declined here and another rose there on its ruins. People extended their sympathy to the one that was vanquished, and when it struggled for freedom and its labour was rewarded, they admired and applauded it. But curiously enough, the very same country, which was so loud in singing the praises of freedom, within a few years of its success, was found to cast covetous eyes on other countries. Vinoba recalled how when he was young they (the people of India) acclaimed Italy for its struggle for freedom and praised Japan for successfully resisting foreign aggression and enhancing the glory of Asia. But within a few years they saw that that very Japan

had turned imperialist, and soon they had to condemn those whom they had praised for so long and sympathize with the victims of their aggressions. This was how they came to cherish sympathy for China. Now one did not know how long China would continue to merit their esteem. This metamorphosis of human behaviour was strange indeed. How could a country which yearned for freedom and knew the humiliation of slavery, how could it think of invading another? What did it mean? It meant that what appeared to be a struggle for freedom was not really so. It was only an ambition for power and pelf. And there was no limit to such ambition. It tended to grow every moment, and ceased only when it was knocked down and broken. Until then it carried on its campaign of rapine. During the period of its struggle against the victors, the ambition for power and prosperity assumed the form of struggle for freedom and thereafter asserted itself in its true form. Vinoba said that they had to see if they too were going to tread the same way. If they were not careful they might witness ere long that the very people who had sung the praises of freedom, and eulogized non-violence, first took arms in self-defence and then embarked on world-conquest.

It would be wrong to feel complacently that such ambition would take long to materialize. It might make its appearance sooner than most people imagined. Things which previously took a whole period of history now materialized in a few years, and India might turn into a Fascist regime, if they were not very watchful. This then was a matter with which they should be seriously concerned. He was not suggesting that there was anything wrong with the way the Government were acting at present, or that it was tending in that direction. But the seeds of trouble lay imbedded in the human mind, and revealed themselves in their education and social organization. When a father imposed his will on his child and chided or punished it, if it did not comply with it; when a mother who could not possibly have any ill-will for her child, punished it even though, as it might appear, for its own good, it was clear that he or she trained the child to ways of imperialism, capitalism and whatever other evil isms there might be. For it meant that they taught their child to identify itself with its body, to feel pleased if the body was fondled, and to fear if it was tortured. Whatever might be the appearances, they insisted upon assuring themselves that the child would act as they wanted it to do. So, the right thing to do for every one, Vinoba said, was to pray to God that he should have strength to exercise his will only upon himself, and never impose it on others. If others approved of his idea, let them take it up by their own free choice of it. That should be a matter of satisfaction to him, but his prayer should be that he might never impose his will upon others by force, even for the good of those people. So long as they insisted on imposing their ideas on the people without any regard to whether they had understood or accepted them, the seeds of violence, imperialism and world-wars would not be rooted out.

Impatience Would Not Do

Some of them tended to grow impatient at times and said they could not wait until all people were trained to do the right thing of their own accord with understanding. The better and more effective way was to set up an appropriately ordered system and compel the people to adapt themselves to it. Training would gradually follow. They felt a sense of frustration in labouring at educating and showed more zeal in piling arms. They would quote the Sanskrit adage, "The wise upheld that it was incumbent (*dharma*) on a State, to restrain people from doing wrong things and enforce right action," (दंडम् धर्मं विदुर् बुधाः) and justify themselves as having the support of the wise.

This reminded Vinoba of an incident of his childhood. His mother was proud of his memory, and she used to proclaim to every visitor that 'Vinya' had such sharp memory that he learnt the '*sandhya*' (the Vedic prayer) in three days only. Vinoba suffered the praise a number of times but could contain himself no longer and asked her if she knew the other half of the truth. It was true that her Vinya had learnt the *sandhya* in three days but he had unlearnt it even sooner, in two days only! The point was that a system might appear to succeed for some time, but if it lacked foundation in education, dissatisfaction would follow and once again there would arise the demand for a new type of organization. Thus a rapid cycle of organization, disorganization and demand for a new type of organization continued endlessly, because no organization was set up with the intelligent consent of the people.

They, therefore, had to steer clear of the illusion that they could achieve anything merely by substituting a new organization for the old one. On the other hand, they must pin their faith on educating the people and carry on with courage and bide their time patiently till it was achieved. This would be found to be the shortest road to their goal, though it might take even fifty years or more, — seemingly quite a long time. Problems like those could not be solved otherwise or sooner. No one therefore should do anything without fully understanding it, nor should any one feel pleased if people did anything even when it was good, merely out of respect or consideration for him or from a sense of fear or submission to the order. Lord Shrikrishna tendered his best advice to Arjuna but at the end asked him to do as he liked (यथेच्छसि तथा कुरु). That should be their ideal. There should be no compulsion. Then only could they bring about a society based on *ahimsa*, and hope for a lasting peace. Recourse to other means might give the appearance that they were earnest about freedom, but it would also bring forth, the next moment, the impulse towards imperialism.

Winding up Vinoba said that this was his view of the reconstruction of society. It was there before them for what it was worth. He was grateful to them for all the love they had showed him. He knew well that he was selfish and could not lay any claim to the love of the country, though at times and quite unconsciously he might have been the instrument of some service. But his primary aim was his own self-interest, though it was true that he had always tried to purify it. Nevertheless, he could not make a pretension of service of the people. Hence, though he could not promise that he would do anything particular for them, yet he could say that in whatever he did, even when it was for his own good, they would always have a place in his heart.

Cruelty to Animals

Countries in the West look to India for the solution of the problems of Animal Welfare, evidently because India's culture and principles of religion are identified spiritually with the creed of non-violence. Mr J. T. Bakin, Animal Welfare worker of England, however, observed that during their tour as members of the Animal Welfare Delegation they were shocked to find the most horrible cruelties meted out to these animals and yet no conscientious or co-ordinated work was being done adequately by Animal Welfare organizations. He believed that the real remedy lay not in merely arresting cases of cruelty and collecting millions of rupees as fines but in approaching the owners of these animals, their drivers and the general public and reviving their sense of sympathy and duty to God's creatures. He was very much dissatisfied with the exclusive policy with which the society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals of Bombay and elsewhere is working and spending millions of rupees exacted as fines from the convicted cases. He appealed to the local S.P.C.A. and others to correct their methods of administration and approach to this problem and adopt curative means by educating public opinion and the like as a means to an end.

J. N. MANKAR

(From a Bulletin of the Bombay Humanitarian League)

THE DUTY OF THE STATE TOWARDS KHADI

(*By Satishchandra Dasgupta*)

II. Present Position

It is regrettable to find that the largest part of the attention of the Central and State Governments has gone to the large and mechanized industries. The process of impoverishment created by the destruction of cottage industries by the mechanized ones, has gone on even at more rapid speed, than during the British rule in some cases. The creation of rice mills is one instance. In these few years of Independence hand- or *dhenki*-pounding of rice is going down and down. And it may be, if the process is not stopped, hand-pounding of rice would be as rare as *khadi*. And both these industries flourished in all cottages at one time, promising employment freely like the free flow of the Ganga.

Mills v. Cottage Industries : By the destruction of these cottage industries, the mills have created no new wealth. India was being clothed by hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. After clothing India, the surplus was exported. By 1860, the exports were yet the order of the day. Imports were then just coming. England imposed prohibitive duties on the importation of Indian manufactures in England and allowed British goods to come and compete with our cottage-industrial products on nominal duty and allowed these industries to be crushed.

When the Indians learnt a little of mechanization, the Indian capitalists thankfully bought the capital goods and machinery from England, and carried on the same work that Lancashire and Birmingham were doing, namely, causing the ruin of our cottage industries and creating unemployment throughout the length and breadth of India.

The Indian textile and similar industries were doing the work of exploitation of the masses in the same manner as the foreign mills were doing. It may appear harsh but it is true. Capitalist ventures are capitalistic and suffer from common blemishes. If society is disrupted, if unemployment is created, it is no matter for the capitalists to restrain their activities out of humanitarian or patriotic considerations. They are apt to react to restraints brought on from outside. Normally greed motivates the ventures and very often greed has exterior polish to hide its real nature.

I shall give two textile examples here. During the seven years, 1871 to 1878, there was no increase in the importation of foreign yarn or foreign cloth in India and during these very years there were 9 *lakh* cotton spindles freshly installed in India. This means that during this period the endeavours of the Indian mills resulted in putting out of action 90 *lakh* *charkhas*, or cottage spinning spindles in India. It may be said that by setting up these mills foreign imports were minimized proportionately to local production in later years. True, but those capitalists who invested in these mills could have patriotically thought that the deprivation of millions of our fellow beings of their occupation without creating equal employment in other fields was a bad job. They could have thought like this and left this evil to be done to India by the Britishers alone. They could have invested in developing new resources. They could have exploited our mineral resources and manufactured products out of them and thereby could have created new wealth. But they followed the example of those who looted the poor men of the means of their subsistence, those poor whom the Government did not protect. To speak again of the textiles, when influenza was taking a heavy toll of life in India in 1918-19, the cotton mills found it convenient to double the prices of mill yarn and clothing and doubled their capital by extra profit in that one year, when ten per cent of the population of India succumbed to the epidemic. The Census Report of 1921 says that the high price of cloth was one of the reasons of the severity of the havoc, because people could not get cloth for covering themselves during the winter days of November when the disaster was at its climax.

It is no good political economy to allow these things happen uncontrolled, on the pretext of non-interference with trade. There is interference with trade affecting almost every sphere of our economic structure, but often the interference is such that it helps the rich to exploit the poor. In that much it is bad political economy.

III. Suggestions

The Independence Day Pledge : India lost her hand-spinning industries as a result of social and commercial injustice. That injustice has to be rectified. The Independence Day declaration promised that justice by declaring amongst other things that *khadi* shall be the only wear.

Therefore it is but just that after the attainment of Independence, a cess should be levied on those mills that compete with cottage industries and help the latter (the corresponding cottage industries) by subsidy and by providing technical training in the art or craft, and by providing for necessary capital to be repaid by instalments. The question then arises about the extent to which the cess should be levied and subsidy given. The matter is quite simple. It would depend upon the capacity of the producers to expand and create production. The cess will be gradually increased till mill prices equal cottage production prices. After that there will be no necessity of subsidy. The cess only will remain.

Suppose for example, the cost of *khadi* is Rs 2/- per yard (which it is not) and that the price of mill-cloth is Re 1/- per yard (which it is not. The round figures have been chosen only for illustration). On the above premises there is a difference of Re 1/- per yard between hand-made and mill-made cloth. If a cess of one pice per yard on mill-cloth is levied it increases the mill price by one pice, and that fetches, say, x crores of rupees. With these x crores, an organization is set up and x crore rupees worth of *khadi* is sold at mill price. As more and more *khadi* will be made and the mill cloth cess will rise higher and higher, ultimately at one stage mill-cloth will be so cessed so as to cost Re 1-8-0 in place of Re 1/- actual cost. *Khadi* will enjoy a subsidy of 8 as. per yard, and sell also at mill-cloth price of Re 1-8-0 per yard by this subsidy of eight annas on two rupees per yard worth of *khadi*. In the final stage it will be all *khadi* and no mill. In practice a balanced stage would be arrived where some mill cloth will be allowed to remain in special lines kept out of the *khadi* reserve.

This higher cost of mill-cloth cannot lead to a general rise in prices, for here, in this case, 90 per cent of the people will be both producers and consumers. Today for an illusion and also for want of capital or instruments, the people cannot spin and wear their own *khadi*. The subsidy will just provide that anti-illusion and people will produce their own cloth and wear it themselves. The country as a whole will be richer on account of juster distribution of wealth. Every one will gain and none will lose by universalizing the production of *khadi*. Money will circulate in the village and increase the buying capacity of the masses. The mills will not be idle or extinct. With cheap Indian labour and excellent Indian engineering skill, mill-cloth will be exportable wherever there is an export demand. Care should be taken to see that Indian mill cloth does not create unemployment in the land of its importation. If no such market could be found the textile mills will change their character and suit themselves to the new circumstances and convert themselves to be applied to other uses.

Central and State Governments: The imposition of cesses for protection of cottage industries is a central subject. The States are helpless. Some States have been trying to work up to some targets of production in cottage-industrial lines. These States cannot do very much. To save these industries from the competition of cheap mill products the levy of a cess is necessary. The matter brooks no delay. If the rising surge of unemployment is to be checked, if unbalanced occupational distribution is to be removed, if the situation arising from an insignificant percentage of India's population enjoying 30 per cent of the total income of the country is to be corrected, then there is no other way but to protect the cottage industries and allow wealth to be created and distributed on cottage-industrial basis.

Today the Governments at the Centre and in the States are striving for inducing investments of capital from the capitalists. To cess their mill products and woo them successfully to invest more may not be very practicable. Supposing they do not respond to the appeal to work for the common weal but attempt for more and more accumulation of wealth in a few hands? Will India wait? Why not create wealth by the labour of the millions in cottages and canalize that through the co-operatives? All the wealth that may be needed for carrying through the various utility projects of India can come out of newer creations of wealth in the hands of the masses. Wooing the capitalists as is being done today has not proved to be of much use. A new outlook is needed where the State will live and die for the millions of poor people and approach them also for creating the reserve of capital for the purposes of building a greater nation of healthy, industrious and happy men and women.

The wooing should be reversed. The wooing should be actively and demonstratively to the poor. Not wordy exhortations only. The poor should be put in the way of exerting themselves and working vigorously. If all the capital necessary for the large projects is to be had without harming the cause of the poor, then it would be wise to wait and create newer wealth by mass employment and get surplus from them for capital investments on national projects. By the extreme solicitude for the capitalists, as is being shown today, disservice is done to the masses and their loyalties are alienated. The signs of the times should be taken note of. The day of relief for the poor and the down-trodden has come — whether the State favours it, or, on the contrary, attempts to suppress it.

Khadi is a symbol. Let not the Government fail to accept the importance of removing unemployment through cottage industries by levying cesses on the competing mill industries. We have now heard that tax evasion by the major capitalists is a thing of the past, and that they are now disclosing amounts of all their secret moneys and investments in India or in foreign countries, and that they have lined themselves up for making the welfare State a success. The corruptions and black markets are indications to the contrary. The Government should look to giving employment to the poor. If cess means paying out of the poor man's pocket, it also means putting in more in his pocket by way of subsidy and his own additional income by the employment of unemployed hours.

Sodepur, 7-4-'51

(Concluded)

ADVERTISEMENTS

The other day I purchased a Madras magazine from the railway book-stall to pass away my hours in the train. I soon discovered that I had not made a good choice, as the reading matter of the magazine did not interest me at all. So I cast my eyes on its advertisements. They awakened the statistician in me, and occupied me for about an hour and a half. I took a piece of paper and pencil, and the following is the result of my statistical analysis.

Analysis of matter printed :

	No. of Pages
Advertisements	30
Photos and illustrations of doubtful interest	3.5
Film, x-word and book reviews	5.5
Cartoons	1
3 comic strips for primary kids	1
9 " Articles "	12
4 Stories of foreign origin	6
2 Stories of Indian origin	4
Titles, Index etc.	1
Total number of pages	64

Analysis of Advertisements and Coverage :

Medicines for rejuvenation (sexual)	17
Fate, magic and talisman etc.	23
Sex books	19
Medicines — menstrual delay with stress on abortive action	13
Digestion medicines	21
Birth Control by oral medicines	4
Birth Control (contraceptives)	4
Medicines to have sons	3
* Improving figures	2
* Goods of very doubtful quality and Goods for cheating gullible persons (not so stated in the advertisement)	10
	2
* " Make friend " agencies for money or for friends of either sex	13
* Be a doctor at home	3
* Matrimonial	1
* Competition for money, promising Rs 485, 250/-	28
Normal advertisements	24
Total No. of Advertisers	165

Notes :

1. Cures are for shortness, T. B., Hydrocele, Polio, Hernia, Piles, Diabites, Deafness, Eye-sight, Cataract, Easy delivery, Skin diseases, Asthma, Leprosy, Snake-bite etc.

2. Normal advertisements may or may not be as advertised, but are otherwise " natural ". Doubtful goods are almost certainly of bad quality or a hoax on the buyers. Imitation gold and marked cards are of use more or less for cheating purposes. Circulation of magazine — *not known*.

3. Rates for advertisements : Rs 125/- per page ; 5 to 15 per cent higher for less space *and* twice the above rate for advertisements relating to puzzles, competitions, food-ball pools, race tips etc.

Probable income from advertisements: Rs 6,000/- approximately for every issue (fortnightly).

4. Incidentally in U.S.A. almost all advertisements except those marked with asterisk (*) are prohibited by law. All competitions, crosswords etc. come under gambling — but the actual charge put against these advertisements is " fraud by mail ". Even those with asterisks must be properly worded, I guess.

U.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN

[Madame Eugenie Cotton, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, in the course of a letter forwarding the following appeal writes :

" As a result of the possibility of utilizing nuclear energy, men are now in a position to destroy all life on the surface of the earth, and the earth itself.

" The age-long efforts of humanity throughout the centuries, its treasures of science and art, are in danger of disappearing ; and what is still graver, children, the world's future, are threatened with annihilation in a total war.

" Doctors and scientists, who are fighting step by step so that life shall triumph, educationists, writers and artists who want to make that life richer and more beautiful ; and finally, parents, whose hearts are full of love and fear for the little ones they have brought into the world ; — all feel the necessity of uniting to protect innocent and defenceless children.

" It is with the desire of achieving an ever-broadening unity that the Women's International Democratic Federation issues the enclosed appeal ".

— K. G. M.]

Dark clouds of war hover over the world. Peace is in danger. Our hearts are filled with deep anxiety for the fate of our children.

The war in Korea shows us what a new world war would be for the children of all countries.

Hundreds of thousands of Korean children were exterminated during the bombardments of the civilian population, or died of hunger and cold, thrust out on the roads during the tragic exodes.

In a great number of countries, children already suffer from the consequences of war preparations. Budgets for health, housing and education are decreased while the war budgets mount. Day by day the overwhelming taxes bring increased suffering ; many families can no longer provide sufficient and nourishing food for their children.

In most colonial countries undernourishment has given place to famine.

The deterioration of children's health and the growth of child mortality threatens the future generations of a great number of countries.

To save the children, the most precious wealth of humanity, we appeal to all men and women of good will, to all organizations interested in children's welfare, to participate in an International Conference on Children, which will discuss the problems of what can be done to assure to all children a happy life in a world at peace, to defend the right to life, health and education of all the children of the world.

Communications to be addressed to :

MADAME EUGENIE COTTON,
President,
Women's International Democratic Federation
13, Unter den Linden, Berlin W 8.
Telegraphic Address : Fedeintfem, Berlin.

WHAT IS "SECULAR"?

"I read Shri K. M. Munshi's letter addressed to you published in *Harijan* dated May 5th, 1951. While I agree with Shri Munshi that in a secular State, believers in every religion will be free to follow their own religious pursuits, undisturbed, I strongly differ with him that a State pledged to secularism should in any way or manner encourage or give help to religious shrines, mosques, temples and churches. Such a State which patronizes all religions can be termed as multi-religious united State. Our Government strictly speaking is following such a policy. I know recently the Central Government spent Rs 32,000 on the repairs of the Shrine of Qutub Sahib in Mahrauli. Our ministers, Governors, and even the President of our Republic grant patronage to all religious shrines. Even the policy of our Education Minister is that religious education be imparted to the students who should have a comparative study of all religions. Again this is something against the true outlook of secularism. Hence in my opinion it is not a fault of Shri Munshi but something basically wrong with our conception of secular State. India in my opinion is a multi-religious united State and not a secular State.

— MIR MUSHTAQ AHMAD."

Though the word *secular* has been used in the Constitution of India, its meaning has not been specifically defined in it. Hence, it must be deduced in the light of other provisions of the Constitution. It does not appear to prohibit the State from spending money for certain purposes, even if the benefit of the expenditure should go to the followers of a particular religion only. What is expected is that no particular religion would be treated with more favour or disfavour than others. The expenditure for the repairs of the Mahrauli Shrine might have been justifiable as a monument of historical importance, or — for ought I know — as having been damaged during communal disturbances. In either case the expenditure stands on a different footing.

We are concerned with the meaning of the word *secular* as intended by the Constitution and not its dictionary meaning. And if we have deliberately used it in the sense of 'equal regard for all religions' or as the correspondent says, 'multi-religious', we need not feel that we have erred. At the most, it means only that the word has been used in a special and modified sense in India. It does not mean "sceptical of religious truth", or "opposed to religious education etc." or "profane" as given in dictionaries. There is nothing in the word to prevent us from giving it that meaning.

Wardha, 18-6-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

COMMUNAL UNITY
By Mahatma Gandhi
Price Rs. 9-0-0 Postage etc. Re. 1-2-0
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT OF CONFERENCES

It may be of general interest, in these days when it is usually considered impossible to hold any meeting, however small, without a very considerable financial outlay, to analyse the final accounts of the All India Basic Education Conference held at Sevagram in March, which are now available.

The consolidated statement is as follows :—

Kitchen and Canteen Account

Receipts

By sale of meal tickets ..	Rs.	3,574	11	0
By contribution from Talimi Sangh for food of student volunteers, at 8 annas a head a day ..	,,	550	0	0
By sale of remaining stock ..	,,	713	15	0
By canteen proceeds ..	,,	680	6	0
Total ..	Rs.	5,519	0	0

Expenses

To food ..	Rs.	4,627	8	3
To wages ..	,,	159	6	6
To canteen expenses ..	,,	444	12	0
Credit balance ..	,,	287	5	3
Total ..	Rs.	5,519	0	0

General Account

Receipts

By donation ..	Rs.	100	0	0
By bus tickets ..	,,	611	4	0
By sale of materials ..	,,	1,084	10	9
Debit balance ..	,,	1,737	6	0
Total ..	Rs.	3,533	4	9

Expenses

To equipment ..	Rs.	1,808	13	6
To transport & hiring charges of equipment ..	,,	265	11	0
To petrol etc. for bus ..	,,	487	1	0
To lighting ..	,,	111	14	0
To printing & postage ..	,,	333	10	9
To exhibition ..	,,	136	12	3
Miscellaneous ..	,,	389	6	3
Total ..	Rs.	3,533	4	9

Deficit on General Account ..	Rs.	1,737	6	0
Balance on mess account ..	,,	287	5	3
Amount met from Talimi Sangh budget ..	Rs.	1,450	0	9

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh had budgetted Rs. 1,500/- for the conference, which lasted for a week. The budget was not exceeded, though the attendance was much in excess of that anticipated. There were 650 delegates and visitors from outside Sevagram, who were given accommodation in the premises of the Talimi Sangh, the Ashram, the Khadi Vidyalaya and

the Kasturba Hospital. The only charges made were Re 1-8-0 a day for food.

If each delegate and visitor had been asked to pay a registration fee of only Rs. 2/-, and to provide himself with his own utensils for eating and bathing, and his own bucket and lantern, the conference could easily have been made entirely self-supporting. This is the ideal at which all conferences of constructive workers should aim.

How were the overhead charges of the conference kept down to this low figure? The answer is threefold, and each part of it embodies a principle which can and should be applied to all such gatherings in a needy country like ours.

The first principle is *simplicity*. We began our active preparations only a week ahead of the time of the conference. First we turned our cattle into the field and cleaned up their stalls for our own use. All our men and boys camped in the Goshala, all our women and girl students lived under canvas, so that all our permanent living quarters were available for guests. We did not try to make elaborate preparations; we limited ourselves to ensuring the essentials — proper arrangements for food, sanitation, bathing and sleep. We offered hospitality at the same standard of living as we accept for ourselves — with one exception. In our regular mess, we limit ourselves to 8 annas a day as the cost of food. It was felt by the Reception Committee that we could not impose this limit on a conference of people of very varied backgrounds from every part of India, and therefore Re 1-8-0 a day was accepted as the standard. The Europeans and Americans among our guests much appreciated this simplicity; they would have been embarrassed and unhappy if any elaborate special arrangements had been made for them.

This simple standard of hospitality meant that our ordinary permanent buildings, together with the few tents we were able to borrow locally, were sufficient to house all the 650 visitors, and that the pandal for meetings was the only large temporary structure which had to be built and for which some paid labour had to be employed. On a site containing large and shady trees even this expenditure could have been eliminated.

The next principle is *self-reliance*. The whole of *Nai Talim* community, by common consent, organized itself as a volunteer army for carrying out all the work of preparation, reception, and care of conference guests. During the week preceding the meetings a committee of staff and students sat every night to review the work of the day and plan that of the next day. Every member had his or her job, according to capacity, from digging trenches to dealing with correspondence. Even in the kitchen, the lion's share of the work was done by our own staff and students, but because of the very large numbers to be catered for, it was necessary to employ one cook and two women helpers in addition. When the conference delegates arrived they too enlisted themselves willingly for orderly duties, and cut vegetables, swept the dining hall, served meals and did all kinds of jobs which effectively supplemented the work of the "home team". Not constructive workers only, but any average group of decent young people, will readily respond to an appeal to join in orderly work, if it is made in the right way. If the work is then well organized, it will be a most valuable and enjoyable addition to any conference on any subject.

The third principle is *thrift* — a proper sense of responsibility and care in the public money and the handling of equipment. Here too a fundamental educational principle is involved. In *Nai Talim* we are trained to render account of whatever material, equipment, or money we handle on behalf of the community, whether in craft work, in *safai*, in the kitchen or wherever it may be. The careful accounting for every part of the conference equipment was a natural extension of a principle which forms a normal part of our daily training. Clearing up, after the conference was over, was organized as carefully, and carried out as thoroughly, as the preparation beforehand. If the delegates could have revisited the scene two days after their departure they would have found hardly a trace of their recent occupation. Like any other item of the educational programme, the conference was finally "assessed" by the students concerned, and judgment passed on the quality of the work done. This careful and systematic check was responsible for the fact that so large a percentage of the conference expenses could be recovered by the re-sale of used materials in good condition.

A large part of the responsibility for various aspects of the work was shouldered by post-basic school students, and by the members of the teachers' training course who had been less than five months under training when the conference began.

MARJORIE SYKES

Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha

(*Note*: Shri E. W. Aryanayakam and his able collaborators deserve congratulations for this exemplary economical management of the Conference. None who had the privilege of participating in it will complain that the economy was at the expense of reasonable comfort. — K. G. M.)

TO THE STUDENTS
By Mahatma Gandhi
Pages xix + 324 Price Rs. 3-8-0 Postage etc. As. 12
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

July 7 1951

LINGUISTIC SEPARATIONS

I find that agitation is still carried on in Gujarat over the award of Tekchand Committee linking the Dang area to Nasik District for the purposes of elections. Shri Kanaiyalal Desai, President, Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, acted in a sportsman-like manner in accepting the award with grace. He said :

> "This decision will cause great surprise and disappointment in Gujarat. We have, however, agreed to abide by it and I accept it. That is the only way in which we ought to resolve our differences if we wish to conduct ourselves in a democratic way."

The Committee say in this award :

> "We wish to make it clear that our decision is concerned solely with the formation of constituencies for the next General Elections. It has nothing whatsoever to do with the larger question as to whether, in the event of linguistic provinces being formed in the Bombay State, the Dangs should be part of Gujarat or Maharashtra. That is a matter foreign to the decision on the limited questions referred to us and will have to be independently examined if and when it arises. Our decision should not be deemed to prejudice that issue in any way."

The protagonists of 'Dang to Gujarat' should take this clarification as sufficient.

On the rival claims of Gujarat and Maharashtra regarding Dang, I am incapable of thinking with a bias for any particular province or language, and am stranger to the emotions which rule the patriots of any particular province or language. But I am glad to read the following paragraph in one of the statements of Shri Kanaiyalal Desai.

> "My contention is that Bombay is a composite province with three principal languages. In such a province there are bound to be areas where more than one language is in vogue. Language cannot be the basis of fixing constituencies in such a case. The only criterion can be affinity and administrative convenience."

With the addition of the words, "and the best interests of the *masses* inhabiting such areas", to the last sentence, I would adopt the above paragraph for deciding to which province a particular area should go.

Even as early as 1938, I had begun to doubt the wisdom of the Karachi resolution regarding the establishment of linguistic States, and had pleaded for its revision. I believe that it is possible to give the people all the benefits of a unilinguistic province, without a complete separation of administrative functions. Indeed, I believe that it is in the interest of the people to have multi-linguistic States rather than unilinguistic ones. Our administrative set-up is already too costly, and an increase in the number of States is an extravagance, which India cannot afford. Shri Manu Subedar advocates that even the present States should be dissolved and all-India should be administered in somewhat like Commissioner's Provinces. His view deserves to be carefully considered. But that apart, multi-linguistic States will be a corrective to provincialism and narrow-based development of languages. They will also enable the Government to appoint officers, who have no local connections or influences. This is very necessary at times.

It is desirable, of course, that all people speaking the same language, should as far as possible be included in the same State. But it is not essential to form One Language, One State. It is not too difficult to accommodate two or three languages in a State with Hindi as the common language for important purposes.

If this view is accepted, such questions as to whether Dang should be linked with Surat or with Nasik would be decided not on the basis of language alone, but on geographical and other administrative conveniences. No language, and no linguistic minorities in any part of the whole State need get any cause to feel coerced on account of a different tongue. Prudence would, of course, advise very small minorities to adopt the tongue of the very large majority in the area. Thus Gujaratis, Sindhis, Panjabis, Madrasis and others, who have permanently settled down in Poona should, in my opinion, adopt Marathi for all purposes, and Maharashtrians and others in Baroda should become full Gujaratis. Indeed, there are not a few who have already done so. The Gujaratis of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Balapur (Berar), are almost fully Marathis ; those of Mahakosal and U. P. Hindis. If some of them speak a different dialect among themselves and call it Gujarati, it is not the Gujarati of Gujarat. Similarly, there are Rajputs in Kannad, who are fully Karnatakis. The Maheshwaris of Gujarat cannot speak a word of the Marwadi language.

I appeal to the protagonists of linguistic provinces to revise and modify their views, and find less separatist solutions of our problems. Where the general masses are so illiterate, unorganized and too simple to understand the different issues involved, it is criminal on the part of a few administrators at the top backed by politicians, merchants and demagogues to arbitrarily pass them over from one administration to another, like so many head of cattle. A referendum, too, is not the proper method in such cases. It is worse than a toss, because a toss cannot be influenced by demagogy, money, or drinks. An arrangement which has worked for a long period and to which the people have adapted themselves must not be suddenly changed unless it can be conscientiously asserted that the change is in the interest of the masses. I find that in all the controversies regarding these matters, past political history, conveniences of administration, trade, communications, natural resources etc. are stressed. But the masses are totally forgotten.

The biological process of increasing by division of cells has already proceeded in our country with an alarming pace. It is time we think of reversing the gear in order to grow strong by combination. This, of course, must not be mixed up with centralized power and direction.

Wardha, 22-6-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

LEGISLATION BEFORE EDUCATION

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

[In a previous issue of the *Harijan* (19-5-'51, p. 94), I had referred to a correspondent from Bihar writing to say that alcohol was good for miners, as it was, according to him, the cheapest and easiest way to relieve fatigue. I had tried to show, by quoting from Shri Rajaji's *Indian Prohibition Manual* that the truth about alcohol was quite the contrary.

The same correspondent had referred to another thing also; and on reading the above mentioned article he wrote to remind me that I should not leave out his other point. He says that what is needed is that there should grow up among the drinking population a moral tone; they should rise to a moral status and cease to drink by themselves. This is a patent argument of many others also who are dry themselves. They often say that we cannot make a man virtuous by law; a man must grow from within himself. The argument is a truism, and none may disagree with it. But here the question is different. The drunkard knows that alcohol is bad and he should leave it. He needs no conversion on this count. But he is its helpless victim. He is to be saved from it. Generally speaking, therefore, there is no question of converting him. Hence it is wrong and misleading to argue, as the learned upper-class people do, that you cannot make a man *virtuous* by law. It is rather a question of helping him by law to grow to follow a virtue which he believes in. The man is to be saved, and saved from a Government that owns a monopoly of drink supply and makes good money from it at the cost of the people's social and moral well-being. It is more a question of converting the drink-supplier, the Government, not to covet, but to prohibit drink by stopping to sell it. But without arguing any further I would refer the reader to what Gandhiji spoke on this question years ago. His speech as reported in the *Young India* of 18-4-'29 is reproduced below:

28-6-'51 — M. P. DESAI]

[The Burma Women's Christian Temperance Union availed itself of the presence of Gandhiji in Rangoon to have him address a meeting of the Union that was held there in the Jubilee Hall. Miss May Mack, who was in the chair, while welcoming Gandhiji as 'India's greatest temperance advocate', regretted the fact that often the bad example of the senior members of the family in the homes nullified to a large extent the effect of the temperance propaganda in the schools. Their organization, she said, had been more and more recognizing the fact that temperance education must precede temperance legislation in order that the latter might be effective. She therefore suggested that what was needed in Burma was an intensive educational campaign amongst adults of all races stressing the necessity for total abstinence on the part of individuals. For no shop could remain long open if it ceased to be patronized.

Gandhiji replying said :]

"Madame and Friends,

"I feel not a little embarrassed in having to address this meeting especially as I do not possess any knowledge about your activities nor was I prepared to face this audience. I thought that I would have to meet all sorts of people who would come, some out of curiosity and others in order to know my views about temperance. But I see that I am in front of an audience, if I may so name it, of specialists. For I hope that you are all specialists in this work. You, madam, have suggested that if an educative campaign is carried on amongst the people, and as a consequence of that propaganda people who are in the habit of drinking cease to visit liquor shops, there would be no liquor shops in existence. I want to put before you my own experience without combating the view that has been suggested from the chair.

Conditions in South Africa

"My work in connection with temperance began as early as 1893 when I went to South Africa. When I saw my own people, my own countrymen, drinking and even women drinking who would never think of drinking in India and as a result leading a life of the gutter, I saw that the task was an uphill one. These men and women were not prepared to listen to any lectures on temperance, much less to any personal advice. I saw too that some of them were perfectly helpless or they thought that they were helpless. I adopted many measures, all such measures as were within the competence of a man who is without any authority. But I cannot claim any degree of visible success for those efforts. There was a kind of a 'Liquor Commission' appointed by the Union Government after South Africa became a Union. I gave evidence or rather wrote a note for that Commission, but I am again sorry to have to inform you that nothing came out of it. The position in South Africa was and still remains somewhat curious and anomalous. There are three different degrees of restriction on the possession and drinking of liquor. The Bantus and the Zulus are prohibited from carrying bottles with them or from being served in canteens, and yet they do drink. Indians may not possess bottles, but they may drink as much as they like in the canteens, with the result, especially to the women, that I have described to you. The white man is of course free. There is no legislation in connection with him, but you may guess what I would like to say. It is that the source of all this evil comes from this freedom of the white men in South Africa. Some of them have amassed a fortune by exploiting the drink habit of the Bantus and the Indians.

What Happened in India

"Then I came to India, and I found the position very different from the position in South Africa in one respect, but the problem essentially the same. There was, as you are aware, a hurricane temperance campaign in 1920-21. And you will not mind my saying to you that if we had then received whole-hearted support from all the temperance organizations throughout the length and breadth of India, we would have achieved complete success. If you are careful

students of the temperance movement in India you would gain the knowledge from the Government reports that we were within an ace of complete success, at least in some provinces. Many of the liquor dens were practically closed. Hundreds of opium dens in Assam were deserted. And then followed the tragedy. It consisted in Government repression. It was a shameful and sorry affair. I admit that the movement had a political colour. It was bound to have that political colour. But the political motive should not have deterred temperance organizations from helping a movement that was essentially moral. You will pardon me for taking you through this history which, if it is tragic, is also deeply interesting. The repression came about in this fashion. The Government revenue dwindled down at once in Bihar, in Assam, in the Central Provinces. There was an onrush of feeling, a desire, a yearning for self-purification. That yearning came, I do not know how, — we do not always know the mysterious ways in which God works. But there is the fact that the political movement became also a movement of self-purification, and in that onrush thousands of workers became volunteers to picket liquor shops and opium dens and the people also began to believe that it was their duty to desert the drinking booths. The Government started repression and thousands of volunteers were thrown into jail for the offence of picketing drink and drug shops with the result that today all those canteens that were deserted and opium dens that were almost closed are, I am afraid, doing probably the same volume of business as they were doing prior to 1920-21.

Legislation must precede Education

"The moral that I would like to draw from this story is that in this connection in India and Burma — treating Burma as a separate entity for our argument — legislation has really to go hand in hand with educative propaganda if not to precede it. I have not been able to study as carefully as I would like to have done the drink habit of the Burman. I assure you that ever since I have come into touch with Burmese opinion I am trying to learn from Burmese friends about this drink habit of the Burman, but I can speak about it only from secondhand evidence as against India about which I can speak from firsthand knowledge. And I am here before you to give my own evidence that drinking is not a habit with the aristocracy, certainly not with the middle-class man; it is a habit confined to the labourers and especially to the factory hands. And this is an interesting piece of evidence that I am placing before you. Why do factory hands drink when they did not drink before they came to work in the factories, even as those men and women who went to work in South Africa were not drinking before they migrated there? The answer is that the conditions there are such and the temptations that are placed in their way are such that they become addicted to the habit of drink. But even these men who have become addicted to the habit of drink do not justify it. They have a sense of shame about it. If you speak to them about it, they will tell you they are helpless, they are labourers; they will tell you all sorts of falsehoods and try to deceive you, but they are ashamed of this habit. In Europe it will be ungentlemanly on my part if I do not stand a drink when you come to see me. When I was a student in England, I found myself in a most embarrassing position because I would not stand a drink to friends. But that is not the case in India, and therefore I suggest that it would be a wrong thing for you to say that education has to precede legislation. Education will never be able to cope with the evil. There is no prohibition because drink brings a large revenue. Even Indian ministers say, 'We cannot forgo this revenue, but you must go on educating.'

A Mischievous Plea

"About this revenue also there is a tragedy. The ministers — it applies to Burma equally with India — should never have been placed in that embarrassing position. Excise as you know is a transferred subject. It should never have been so made. Excise revenue should have remained as part of the central revenue, so that it should be open to the Government at any moment to forgo this revenue and declare complete prohibition. In a mighty country like America where drink was so common they have been able to declare prohibition; how much more easy should it be in India or Burma where liquor is not the fashion, where the vast majority of the people do not want liquor, where if you take a referendum you will get millions of signatures in favour of any representation for the introduction of prohibition legislation? The excise revenue is 25 crores. It is not a revenue on which any government should take pride in conducting its administration. It is a revenue which must be sacrificed and whilst it lasts, it should be held as sacrosanct and be wholly dedicated to the purpose of eradicating the drink evil. But today it is being utilized for educating our children with the result that a tremendous barrier has been put against this necessary temperance legislation. People are made to think that they will not be able to educate their children if this revenue stops. If things go on unchecked like this a whole nation might have to perish. If the evil spreads, it may be too late to undertake legislation. In America it has been possible to educate public opinion in favour of prohibition because there is universal education there, but it may not be possible to mobilize public opinion like that in a country like India where there is illiteracy on such a vast scale and its handmaid superstition. I would therefore appeal to you, especially the women who are concerned with temperance work, to take

courage in both your hands. I do not ask you to take as gospel truth what I have told you. Test the truth for yourselves and if you find that what I have told you is more than confirmed by your investigations, then I suggest that you will make it your sacred duty to carry on a whirlwind campaign for total prohibition. The task is difficult only because the rights that have been created through the drink evil belong to the ruling race.

The Reformer's Position

"If you discuss this problem with the administrators they will tell you all sorts of stories and put all manner of difficulties in the way of carrying this legislation through. Do not believe these difficulties at all. There is no difficulty at all beyond the difficulty of making up the deficit of revenue. If you and I have made up our minds that this evil has got to be eradicated and if it can be eradicated only by prohibition legislation, then it is for the Government to find a way out of the deficit difficulty. It is not open to it to ask you to suggest ways and means for making up that deficit. That would be like the conduct of a man who comes to you with unclean hands and asks you to help him to clean them. However there is the question of picketing. When the psychological moment comes, — and I am praying for that moment, — when every liquor shop and opium den is picketed I will expect you to lend a helping hand and not to say, 'How can we help him? He is an agitator.' Even now an intensive agitation for temperance is being carried on in the Surat district, and that has been possible because there is a band of workers including women belonging to cultured families, self-sacrificing and brave. When we have got a compact body of reliable and unimpeachable workers we shall carry on this campaign over the whole country. And when that time comes you will find the whole of India dotted with pickets and I hope that that influence will percolate through the Bay of Bengal to Burma. Burmese ladies and gentlemen too may then, if they so choose, carry on picketing and thus save a noble race from extinction which so far as I can see stares them in the face — as much as it does India — if they are not weaned from this curse in time."

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME
Its Meaning and Place
By Mahatma Gandhi
Second Revised Enlarged Edition
Pages 31 Price As. 6 Postage etc. As. 2

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME
Some Suggestions
By Rajendraprasad
Second Impression
Pages 32 Price As. 8 Postage etc. As. 2

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

SELECTED LETTERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Second Series

XXXII

[To a young man who asked him to save him from wickedness.]

You should make a fixed resolution to be good. Always pray to God to make you good and you will be good.

XXXIII

[Acid test for a devotee]

If you must have secret remedies not for the benefit of humanity but for your own pocket, there is no surrender to God or reducing yourself to zero. Look at the *bhangis*, how they eke out their living by doing unclean work of the community. If you will reduce yourself to nothing you have to do voluntarily and joyously the kind of service that the *bhangis* do and at the same time give the poor and the afflicted the benefit of your medical knowledge free of charge. Do not call this impracticable because many have been able to do it successfully.

XXXIV

[To Ramdas Gandhi]

......To strive is the whole duty of man. And if the enemy floors us while we continue the struggle to the best of our ability, let us not be down-hearted in the least. We must be on our legs again and resume the struggle. There is no reason to be ashamed so long as we have not contributed to our defeat, for it is not a defeat at all.

Be very careful to avoid bad dreams. If at any time during the night you find yourself excited, don't give way to laziness, but get up at once, drink cold water, sit in it and pour it on the genitals. Very often it is enough to rise, walk to and fro and take Ramanama. Again whenever we have the time, we should remember chaste men like Bhishma and their spiritual strength. Or men like Andrews, Pearson and Kitchin if Bhishma appears to be rather remote. If we feel that even these are remote, we may fall back upon the five who are in the Ashram. Resolve that you too can do what they can. Pondering over the meaning of the Gita verses recited at the evening prayer is also very helpful.

XXXV

[To the same]

Rest assured that if we are good ourselves, so is all the world besides. You find that very few people are bad, and that is a fact. None is bad by nature. Many appear bad because we have not the eye in order to discern the good in them.

XXXVI

[To the same]

Take great care of the body as a trustee of God's property. Do not pamper or spoil it, fill it with dirt or overload it.

(XXXIV to XXXVI translated from Gujarati by V. G. D.).

HIMALAYAN LESSONS

V

Kaudia, The Last Straw

After three days of fruitless house-hunting on our part, and three nights of relentless biting on the part of the fleas, we decided to play our last trump card — the permit for the Kaudia Rest House, which was eight miles away over a high mountain path. Accordingly, Swamiji and Bhawanisingh made a forced march there and back in one day, so as to make sure that the place would at least be passable. It was a sunny day when they went there, and consequently they brought back a sunning report. Only the path, they said, was very rough and stony, and as Swamiji had gone barefooted his opinion of the path was extra bad! The very next day, with mules for the luggage and an old white horse for me, we set off. At this juncture Swamiji said he would make a dash to Pashulok on foot, in order to give the folks there some news of our whereabouts and condition, and then rejoin us via Mussoorie after three days. In this way he would bring Krishnamurti along, who had been held up by the breaching of the Narendranagar road, and was overdue with post and other urgent office papers for being dealt with. So he went down and we went up. And it was indeed a case of up and up, steep and stony. The old white horse was not very strong in the lungs and often had to stop to take breath. We had to get round the other side of an eight-thousand-foot mountain, and as we went up the last bare ridge at about 7,500 feet the wind blew strong and biting cold. The old horse began stopping every few yards. "Oh brother," I said, "if you can't manage better than this I shall have to dismount because I am getting frozen." And he indicated that I should do so without further delay. So down I got, but my breathing capacity at that altitude was not much better than his, so we made slow progress together. The path now began to skirt round the mountain side, but it was so narrow and broken that riding was out of the question for most of the remaining two miles. Trees and bushes began to appear, and before long we were in a regular forest. We ended up by descending through a thick plantation of *deodars*, just below which, picturesquely situated on a terrace of green grass, stood the Kaudia Rest House. "Ah!" we exclaimed, "here we have found a resting place at last." The main building had two rooms with attached bathrooms, and a broad front verandah, and the kitchen was in a separate line with more rooms. Then there were three beds (what a luxury!), and plenty of water near by. I saw the chance of getting a bath, which I had not had since we left Phakot over a week ago! We settled in for the night. The place seemed rather cold and damp, but we did not stop to think much about it as we were all sufficiently tired. The next morning was bright, and I went up through the *deodar* plantation to look around. I found myself very breathless, and before long began to feel rather queer and sick. I descended again to the house and lay down on my bed. The altitude seemed to be disagreeing with me, and the freezing cold wind of the previous day was still in my bones.

The great mountain above us now began gathering the monsoon clouds on its summit and rolling them down on to our heads. And with the clouds came relentless rain. There were two springs near the house and the whole mountain side oozed water. The next day I did not venture out beyond the flat ground in front of the house. Cloud and rain continued intermittently. Suddenly Krishnamurti turned up all alone, wet and exhausted. "Hallo!" I exclaimed, "how is this, and where is Swamiji?" It turned out that he must have left Pashulok just an hour or two before Swamiji arrived. Feeling anxious at the long delay, he had decided to make an attempt to reach us via Mussoorie. And it was not without difficulty that he succeeded. The Mussoorie bus-road had also been breached, but they got the passengers over somehow. He spent that night in a small hotel in the town, and could not get a wink of sleep for the bugs. Then the next morning, with a coolie for his luggage, he tramped it out as far as Kanatal (28 miles). That night all wet and cold he huddled up with some 18 more pedestrians in a small room. There was no space to lie down, and most of the people smoked continually throughout the night. Being under the impression that we were still at Chamba Khal, he set out for there the next morning. Some time after passing the turning to Kaudia a local peasant happened to tell him of our whereabouts. That was good luck, but the coolie with the luggage, who had stopped behind somewhere to have a smoke, was not traceable, and went all the way on to Chamba Khal, from where he did not return till some one went to fetch him three days later! In the meantime Swamiji also turned up. He had escaped the bugs and tobacco smoke, but the weather and road conditions had favoured him no better.

So we were all together at last, but Fortune was not favouring us. My health had become so bad that I was reduced to lying on my bed all the 24 hours, and Krishnamurti's condition was not much better. The drinking water was bad, the whole place was reeking damp and very chilly, and the clouds continually floated down the side of the big mountain. Move we must — but my health had now become so bad that I no longer had the strength to ride. Swamiji and Bhavanisingh, who had searched around, advised our descending to Tehri (14 miles and a drop of about four thousand feet). Much against my will, I had to agree to go in a *dandi*, a thing I had never done before, and Krishnamurti had a dilapidated horse. There was something wrong

with my *dandi*, which tilted to one side and made me feel all the while as if I was going to be tipped out; and there was something equally wrong with Krishnamurti's horse, which had to have a man to hold on to its tail in order to prevent its hind legs from giving way! The result was that, strength or no strength, both he and I had to do some two or three miles on foot.

MIRA

(To be continued)

EFFORTS TO COMBAT MONKEY NUISANCE

"The Food Production Committee of the Madras Cabinet considered at its meeting yesterday measures for putting down the 'monkey nuisance' and minimizing the destruction caused by them to food crops and fruit gardens.

"The drought during successive years in the Madras State, it is believed, has resulted in monkeys migrating from forest abodes to agricultural areas and causing damage to standing crops, plantain and coconut gardens, etc. Attempts to catch them made in various districts and deport them, it is stated, only led to the nuisance shifting its ground.

"The Government of India, in 1949, suggested a number of measures to combat the nuisance, including shooting of monkeys and capturing and exporting them to Western countries for purposes of scientific research. They also urged that propaganda be undertaken to overcome popular sentiment against killing at monkeys.

"The Madras Government had investigations made in the matter and dropped the suggestion for destroying the animals, as popular sentiment was totally opposed to such a step. They explored the possibility of capturing the animals and exporting them abroad to countries where experiments on the therapeutic value of monkey glands were being conducted, such as the U.S.A., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R.

"In this connection, the Madras Government, it is learnt, requested the Government of India to contact those countries and their reply was now awaited. The Government have also been trying to promote export through private dealers.

"At its meeting yesterday, the Cabinet Committee considered what further action was necessary in the matter to combat the monkey nuisance, since the scheme for destroying them was not to be implemented.

"The Committee deferred consideration of the subject pending collection of certain particulars by the Department." (*The Hindu*, June 13, 1951).

The Madras Cabinet Committee has not taken the right step. If monkeys have to be got rid of, it is a far less heinous form of violence to shoot them than to export them to foreign countries for being subjected to the very cruel methods of vivisection. The people must be trained to right thinking. A false complacency of non-violent behaviour must not be encouraged.

Wardha, 16-6-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE
By Mahatma Gandhi
Pages xi+216 Price Rs 3/- Postage etc. 8 as.
TO WOMEN
By Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
Pages 32 Price 6 as. Postage etc. 2 as.
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

NOTES

Vinoba's Return Home

After a strenuous tour of three months Vinobaji arrived at Sevagram yesterday, and has returned to his Ashram at Paunar this morning. After the four-day fever in the course of the tour, he has not been able to regain his weight, and is about eight pounds less than when he left. He however hopes to resume his agricultural labour immediately.

Like bulls which are to be killed, soldiers of war are luxuriously fed by their masters and hosts; and if during their march they are not well-provisioned they help themselves by looting the villages. But the bullocks which are to be maintained for life are fed just to the extent they need for keeping them efficient, and they never make themselves a nuisance. So too soldiers of peace. Vinoba's was a Peace Brigade, and though they show signs of physical emaciation, revealing that they were not luxuriously fed, they were fed enough to keep them efficient, and were fed with love. Naturally, they speak about the kindness of all their various hosts with gratitude.

Wardha, 27-6-'51 K. G. M.

Protection of Women

[I gladly share the following with the readers:
— K. G. M.]

I read your leader on "Respect for Womanhood" with interest. Since long years I have been thinking of what would happen to women in case of social disorganization at any time. I think they would become the easiest targets of rowdies. We have seen that in the Punjab recently, — in other parts on a smaller scale.

I would like to see a collection of reports of at least some of the millions of women on the European continent for what they have gone through (horrible experiences) during the last war. They must have been at the mercy of nerve-racked brutal and drunken soldiers, both economically and physically.

The fact is women cannot defend themselves alone — although exceptionally some may kill their assailants. The police also cannot protect them, because they cannot be everywhere at all times. Then what is left in their defence?

While brutal males are ready to defend the honour of their own women-folk, they have no scruples about other women. It is unfortunate that *some* women consider such males who can defend them as manly.

The only safety seems to be when all in *any* locality (*mohalla* or village) mobilize themselves to protect their own women and children against aggressors among themselves or from outside and assist such organizations throughout the country. It should not wait till turmoil starts.

It is not enough to appeal to the high ideals of past times. Nothing less than social solidarity will help in times of peace or turmoil.

Bombay, 24-6-'51 M. P. T. ACHARYA

WHAT WAR MEANS

LESSONS IN MILITARY TRAINING

"Hate!"

"Our soldiers must have the fighting spirit. If you call that hating our enemies, then we must hate with every fibre of our being. We must lust for battle. Our object in life must be to kill; we must scheme and plan night and day to kill. You must hit harder and harder. You must become tougher and tougher. You must hate more and more. It is the avowed purpose of the army to make killers of all of you." — General Lesley J. McNair, U.S.A., quoted in the *New York Times*, July 28, 1944.

"Kill!"

The object of all military training is to win battles. The principles of sportsmanship and consideration for your opponent have no place in the practical applications of this work...... To finish an opponent who hangs on or attempts to pull you to the ground, always try to break his hold by driving the knee or foot to his crotch and gouging his eyes with your thumbs.......... The inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged by the instructor. — *Manual of Military Training* by Col. James A. Mossard and Major John W. Lang, U. S. Army.

"God Should Wait"

If it is a choice between praising God and going to bayonet drill, God should wait. If we object to any of our citizens thus specializing on murderous and un-Christian activities, we should abolish the army. If we want an army, we should recognize it for what it is. We should not tell lies about it being a school for citizenship or manual training, nor clutter up its drill grounds with disciples for these irrelevant arts.—"The Uplift Hits the Army", *American Mercury*, June, 1925.

(From a cutting received by post)

By Mahatma Gandhi

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH

(Autobiography)

Pages viii + 640 Price Rs. 7/- Postage etc. 13 as.

HINDU DHARMA

Pages xx + 433 Price Rs. 4/- Postage etc. 11 as.

BAPU'S LETTERS TO MIRA

(Written to Mirabehn during 1924-'48)

Pages 387 Price Rs. 4/- Postage etc. 10 as.

SATYAGRAHA

[NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE]

Pages xvi + 406 Price Rs. 5-8-0 Postage etc. 14 as.

SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Revised Second Edition just published

Pages xvi + 351 Price Rs. 4/- Postage etc. 13 as.

RAMANAMA

Pages viii + 68 Price Re. 1-0-0 Postage etc. 3 as.

KEY TO HEALTH

Pages xxvi + 83 Price 10 as. Postage etc. 2 as.

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

ON WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLI

(A DIARY OF VINOBA'S ITINERARY)

XIV

April 4, Bolaram (Twenty-eighth Halt, 9 miles)

Vinoba had referred yesterday to his illness and called it God's test of a devotee. Today, at Bolaram, he had an occasion to deal at length on nature-cure. Shri Parasmal Jain conducts here a nature-cure clinic during his leisure time. Patients come to him for advice or treatment or both from 5 to 8 a.m. There are arrangements for massage, tub-bath, steam-bath, enema etc. Referring to the principles and his experiment of nature cure, Vinobaji said, "Nature cure has a prominent place in the *Sarvodaya* outlook of life. I have had its experience even during this tour. I had been keeping temperature for the last four days. In an ordinary fever I have always tried to do without medicines. I make a little change in diet. Our master has taught us that the name of the Lord is the greatest of all medicines, a prescription tried by many great souls. I also have faith in it. I continued my tour, making a little change in the diet. Walking and the rest provided for in the programme remained as usual. The temperature remained constant for four days. I had expected it to subside after three days. But it took a day more. That is the way how God puts you to test and adds to your experience that medicines are not necessary in ordinary ailments. A little change in life, a change in diet, a little rest to the digestive system, is enough treatment for ordinary diseases. As regards grave diseases, no one has yet successfully suggested or invented specific treatments or prescriptions. This means that God's name is the only remedy for such diseases. Medicines have very little scope. However, we find now-a-days that there is a great increase of *doctors* and diseases simultaneously. They do not look like mutual enemies; but rather like a pair working in mutual co-operation. If the rise of one had been followed by a fall of the other, we could have concluded that they were mutual enemies. Moreover, the doctors are dependent upon foreign medicines. This dependence upon foreign medicines is neither safe nor creditable to India. If God has produced food for us on our land, He must be assumed to have provided us with the remedies for our diseases also. But the people of the towns run for every indisposition, however small, to the doctor, who in his turn gives a foreign drug. It would seem as if God has not created any herb in this country or has not provided any power in the nature here, capable of curing even minor ailments. When a nation is subjected by another, the slavery does not remain merely political, but pervades every branch of life, our very minds becoming enslaved. Hence, though the British rule has gone, the slavery of our minds has not gone.

"*Ayurveda* had considerably advanced in our country centuries ago. One of my friends often says that of all the branches of learning which were born in India, *Vedanta* and *Ayurveda* have no parallel elsewhere. I shall not claim so much about *Ayurveda*, as the science of treatment of diseases has flourished in more countries than one, like Persia, Arabia etc. We must admit that other countries have shown remarkable progress in medicine as well as in the knowledge of the human body. Nevertheless, I maintain that the medicines needed by our people must be found in the herbs that grow in this country. The particular importance of *Ayurveda* consists in its having minutely studied the local herbs of each region. No doubt that this was quite natural for our people to do. They could not have sought herbs other than those that grow here. But much has yet to be done to complete the investigations. At the present time, we do not even know many of our own herbs, and are unable to identify some of those described in the books. We have got to discover and rediscover all these.

"Let us give the time necessary for this work; but let us not also forget that in the plan and execution of God, He has made every one capable of self-reliance. He

has given to every being a fully equipped body in a perfect form, and with a full set of senses, organs of digestion, intelligence etc. He has also provided every one with earth, water, air, light and *akasha*. Therein He must be presumed to have provided the capacities and means to remedy disorders in the body, and resorting even to the herbs should not be absolutely necessary. Clay, water, air, light are all natural means of cure. The *Vedas* have referred to them as so many deities or forces, and described how each is to be worshipped or sought for help. Therein is indicated how water and the rays of the sun could be utilized as cures. If we give a little thought, we would realize that the human body is made of all that is found in the universe, and every form of matter that is in the universe has its parallel in the body. There is water in the universe, and correspondingly there are blood and other fluids in the body. There is the sun without and the eyes within; air without, breath within; and so on. Even minerals like gold, iron etc. have their place in the body. Hence, it is said that the body is a miniature of the Universe. यथा पिंडे तथा ब्रह्मांडे । Thus both being so integrally related, if earth, water, light and *akasha* are properly, intelligently, and affectionately made use of with faith in them, many of the diseases can be easily cured.

Knowledge of such nature-cure methods should be spread in every village. If you think in terms of establishing hospitals in every village, it is not practicable. Even if you succeed in doing so, you will simply open one more outlet for the depletion of the village of its wealth by importing medicines from outside. There are already enough such outlets and if this one more is added, the diseases of the village, instead of decreasing, will undoubtedly increase, because the diet itself will become deficient. The villagers should be taught the use of the herbs that grow around them. That alone is possible. They should also be taught to forgo a meal, to take the enema, or to try water-cure, mud-cure etc. In this way they can do even without the herbs. If this is done you will find that people will enjoy the best of health with the least of expense, for it is in the very nature of Nature that while it cures the body, it does not allow any other evil to grow therein. It is not so with the medicines which appear to cure a disease, but really prepare ground for other diseases to take its place, thus creating a vicious circle. Once the bottle of medicine finds its way into the home, it comes to stay for ever. Indeed, it survives the body itself.

While it is dangerous for the village to rely on medicines, it is equally bad for the city. After all, why do diseases grow in the cities? Because the people there do not take proper exercise, put on excessive clothes, thus depriving the body of the benefits of fresh air and the sun's rays — the free gifts of God. Even the houses are so constructed that they keep men away from Nature. So are their occupations. Then they keep awake till late in the night and waste themselves away after cinemas and dirty literature. The body and the mind, thus poisoned, become victims of disease. Then, in order to cure them, they go to doctors, undergo operations, take various injections etc. They consent to take as medicines or food, meat and flesh, which ordinarily they would avoid as forbidden and purchase costly articles manufactured in distant places. And eventually the poor citizen is thoroughly worn out. Nature cure, therefore, is the only and the best remedy for cities as well."

Vinobaji advised the people of Bolaram to receive the necessary training from Sri Parasmal and to give him necessary co-operation in his work of nature cure. Referring to the various appliances of nature cure, such as the enema pot, hot-water-bag, tubs etc, Vinobaji said that these small articles were of immense use, and the quick relief which they gave was not available even from herbs. It was general experience that the enema often brought instantaneous relief where other remedies had failed.

Pick-axe and Charkha

"I am also of opinion that in an institution of nature cure there should also be, in addition to these appliances, a farm where the patients should be asked to do some work, that may suit their health. I claim for implements such as the pick-axe, the shovel and the *charkha*, a place among the means of nature cure. Some might laugh and say, 'This man is a lunatic. He brings in the pick-axe and the *charkha* everywhere. Ask him about the means of increasing production in India, and he would say, dig with the pick-axe and spin on the wheel (*charkha*). Ask him about his scheme of education and he will again bring in his pick-axe and the *charkha* as the medium of education. And he has now gone to the length of saying that they are also the means of curing illness. He has only one and the same solution for all matters. He must be mad.' But I shall go further and say that my madness does not end here. I also contend that these are also our weapons of war. The social and political revolution, which we have still to achieve and the struggle which lies ahead of us, will have to be fought with the pick-axe and the *charkha*. No one should run away with the idea that we have established a perfect form of government in India. The administrative set-up in the *Sarvodaya* scheme will be of a different type from the present one. It has to be changed radically, and the weapons with which that war will be waged are, to my mind, none else than the pick-axe, the shovel, the *charkha*, the *chakki* and the like.

"To come back to health, I am convinced that it can never be the will of God that man should ever fall ill. Together with so many other gifts, He has given him also an appetite. This implies that it is the will of God that man must do necessary labour for the appetite. But man wants to eat without doing any labour and wants to eat more than the appetite. Avoidance of labour on the one hand, and over-eating on the other, invite diseases. If we lead a natural life and resolve to earn our bread through labour alone many of our diseases will disappear.

"But you can ask me, how it was that so many people who earn their bread through hard labour also fall ill. My reply is that theirs is the case of over-work and insufficient nourishment. On the one hand, we have people who avoid work and devour more food, and on the other, people who have to do more work and have less food. This exploitation is the cause of their illness. The former fall ill for want of work, the latter for want of food. But if both take to physical labour and do it properly, lead a regular life and eat only in proportion to the appetite and no more, you will find without doubt that there is no provision whatsoever in the scheme of God to fall ill."

Prior to the workers' meeting in the afternoon, there was a programme of collective spinning in which about fifty ladies had participated. Only one or two wore *khadi*. The rest were clad in mill-cloth or Mysore silk of typical Madras style. Vinobaji usually takes a round among the spinners, but today he did not stir. I asked him the reason. He said, "What is there to be seen? Not one of them is wearing *khaddar*." It seemed, he was pained at the sight. The *charkhas* also made much noise. The thread broke repeatedly. Bolaram was regarded to be a spinning centre. And yet this was its condition. What a scope for reform?

The workers put various questions. Most of them were of the same type as elsewhere. But Vinoba's answers each time had an originality of their own, which gave them freshness. To a question regarding the controls, he said, "Every one puts the same question. Do you think that the Government is not intelligent enough to understand what *lakhs* and crores of you feel? If it were so, the Government must either be foolish or an enemy of the masses. The question often comes to my mind also.

And I feel that if those who are in charge of the Government today are demons, you will not elect them any more but elect gods. The state of affairs today is that every one is talking against controls. Even the merchants also who have not suffered on their account, but have rather made money, want them to be lifted. The Socialists, the Communists, the Congressmen, even college students are ready to denounce the policy of controls. Is it a fun that the matter should be talked of so irresponsibly? Have they all studied the subject? Is it not suicidal to speak without studying the subject?' Two years ago, I had said in Indore that the Government, on the advice of Gandhiji, had removed the controls; and had warned the merchants to be honest. But the merchants failed and the rates went very high. I had to say to the merchants that they had betrayed Gandhiji and had proved treacherous to the people. I said that that left no alternative to nationalization and the merchants had forfeited their rights. Some of the Socialist friends had given wide publicity to my words. Even today, I do not think I need revise my opinion. If the merchants give assurance, even today the Government may consider their case. But it seems as it were a race of the fox and the hare is going on between the Government and the merchants. The country instead of deriving benefit from the talents of the two, is unfortunately crushed between the two. Recently, some of our friends who did not favour controls, met in a conference at Wardha. But even they could not recommend immediate removal of controls.

One of the suggestions I have made in this connection is the collection of revenue in kind. The quantity could be settled for a period of ten or twenty years. This will facilitate procurement of food for the needy, and there wil also be a free market, and so there will be no need of food controls.

About cloth, Vinoba had repeatedly said that it could be solved only through *khadi*. The mills, which claimed all the talent, energy and wealth of the nation, had come down from the pre-war 17 yd. to 12 yd. per head; and might climb down to 11¾ yd. None can say what would happen in the course of the next ten years. The mills could not utilize Indian cotton profitably, and wanted to import foreign cotton in exchange for Indian cotton, which was to be exported. "What a tragedy this, that we should not be able to produce the commodity which all of us need for all times, out of the material which we can grow! Also, that we should be deprived of the industry which once flourished in every cottage, and be made dependent upon others for a prime necessary of life. My suggestion is that just as we reserve forests, so should some of the cottage industries be reserved, and *khadi* should be one of the most important among such reserved industries. We shall no doubt improve our instruments. We have been doing that. Thus we can solve these problems of cloth and food and of their controls."

Another question was about the prestige of the Congress which had fallen considerably, and the means of raising it.

Vinobaji's first remark was sarcastic. "Has not the strength and the prestige of the Congress increased fourfold by raising the membership fee from four annas to one rupee?" But instantly he became serious and said, "The cause of the decline of the prestige, unfortunately, is that there is now no risk and no responsibility whatsoever in belonging to the Congress. During Gandhiji's time, it was all risk and sacrifice, and no privileges. Today it is the question of enjoying the fruits of past sacrifices. It is possible for a moneyed man to purchase ten thousand members by paying subscriptions on their behalf. How can then the prestige of the Congress increase? The Congress ought to have given some programme to the people. But it has handed over that responsibility to the various constructive institutions — like wealthy people engaging Brahmanas to worship their deities! It has handed over one item to the Charkha Sangh, another to the Talimi Sangh, a third to the Harijan Sangh and so on. The Congress wants, to claim and reap the merit, while these worshippers will perform the *pujas*. Gandhiji had advised the Congress to transform itself into a Loka Sevak Sangh. But that could not be. On the other hand, the constructive institutions were affiliated to the Congress. Then came the question of certified *khadi*. The Congress did not feel the necessity of certification. That means, that on the one hand, they charged the Charkha Sangh with the work of worship, and on the other hand, said that they did not insist upon honouring the particular deity of the Charkha Sangh!

"And what is the condition of the Congress ministers? When one meets any of them, they say that they have no leisure to sit down and meditate seriously on any problem. I can understand if they do not find leisure to eat. But how can they work without finding time to think, to ponder, to meditate? For me, it is a wonder! But for them it is not. They say that they have appointed capable secretaries to do the necessary thinking. Such is the pitiable condition of the poor ministers!

And there are Congressmen who are not in the Government. What do they do? They quarrel among themselves for power. Every one of them has been to jail; and *ipso facto* every one must have a share in the power. Who can save the Congress from falling in this situation? To my mind, Congressmen should, without waiting for circulars from above, engage themselves in the fields of service. Do they wait for the arrival of circulars, when they are hungry?"

D. M.

AN ATHEIST WITH GANDHI
With Introduction by Shri K. G. Mashruwala
By Gora
(G. Ramachandra Rao)
Pages 55 Price Re 1 Postage etc. 3 as.
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS PAGE

SHRI VINOBA AT SHIVARAMPALLI — IV	.. Vinoba	153
THE DUTY OF THE STATE TOWARDS KHADI — II-III	.. Satishchandra Dasgupta	155
ADVERTISEMENTS	.. U.	157
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN	.. Eugenie Cotton	157
WHAT IS "SECULAR"?	.. K. G. Mashruwala	158
ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT OF CONFERENCES	.. M. S.	158
LINGUISTIC SEPARATIONS	.. K. G. Mashruwala	160
LEGISLATION BEFORE EDUCATION	.. Gandhiji	161
SELECTED LETTERS	.. Gandhiji	163
HIMALAYAN LESSONS — V	.. Mira	164
EFFORTS TO COMBAT MONKEY NUISANCE	.. K. G. Mashruwala	165
WHAT WAR MEANS: LESSONS IN MILITARY TRAINING	..	166
ON WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLI — XIV	.. D. M.	166
NOTES:		
CRUELTY TO ANIMALS	.. J. N. Mankar	154
VINOBA'S RETURN HOME	.. K. G. M.	165
PROTECTION OF WOMEN	.. M. P. T. Acharya	165

Subscription Rates — Inland: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; Foreign: One year, Rs. 8 or 14 s. or $ 2.
Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 9.